

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7172  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USBERLIN 1562

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, BQG, UR, FR  
SUBJECT: MEETING OF FRENCH AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS IN BERLIN  
JUNE 27.

SUMMARY. JUNE 27 LUNCH FOLLOWED BY DISCUSSION BETWEEN FRENCH  
AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS BROKE NO NEW GROUND BUT DID INCLUDE  
PREDICTABLE SOVIET PROTESTS ON PLANNED BERLIN PARTICIPATION  
IN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE'S FORTH-  
COMING ASSUMPTION OF PRESIDENCY OF BUNDESRAT. BOTH SIDES  
EXPRESSED CONTINUING SUPPORT OF QA, WITH ABRASIMOV NOTING  
THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT DESIRE ITS REVISION. END SUMMARY.

1. FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO FRG BRUNET WAS HOST AT LUNCHEON  
ON JUNE 27 TO ABRASIMOV, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO THE GDR.  
BRUNET OPENED THE DISCUSSION FOLLOWING LUNCH WITH  
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BRIEF REVIEW OF POINTS OF MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN  
SOVIET AND WESTERN POWERS. BRUNET EXPRESSED THE VIEW  
THAT SOVIETS "PRETENDED" (AFFECTAIENT) TO COMPLAIN ABOUT  
A WHOLE SERIES OF MATTERS WHERE THE QA IN FACT GAVE THEM  
NO BASIS FOR COMPLAINT.

2. ABRASIMOV REPLIED BY UNDERLINING WHAT SOVIETS

ASSERTED WERE VIOLATIONS OF THE QA IN NUMEROUS RESPECTS. FIRST CONCERNED TIES BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND FRG. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WAS "ILLEGAL" FOR BUNDESTAG AND BUNDESRAT COMMITTEES TO MEET IN WEST BERLIN UNLESS THE SUBJECT DISCUSSED WAS SPECIFICALLY CONCERNED WITH BERLIN. NOTABLE VISITORS SUCH AS QUEEN ELIZABETH, THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL AND--SHORTLY TO COME--PRESIDENT CARTER WERE ACCOMPANIED TO BERLIN BY FRG OFFICIALS AND CAME HERE IN THE CONTEXT OF VISITING THE FRG THUS SUGGESTING, ACCORDING TO ABRASIMOV, THAT WEST BERLIN WAS A "LAND" OF THE FRG. SOVIET POINT OF VIEW REMAINED UNCHANGED; WEST BERLIN HAD SPECIAL STATUS.

3. BRUNET REPLIED THAT MATTERS CONCERNING BERLIN WERE "NEVER ABSENT" FROM THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT COMMISSIONS WHICH MET HERE. AS FOR FOREIGN VISITORS, THEY NATURALLY CAME TO BERLIN WHEN THEY RECEIVED A JOINT INVITATION FROM THE GOVERNING MAYOR AND FRG AUTHORITIES. CHIEFS OF STATE OR OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES COULD WITH PERFECT LEGITIMACY BE ACCOMPANIED BY THOSE FRG OFFICIALS WHOM THEY WISHED TO HAVE WITH THEM WHEN VISITING BERLIN.

4. ON RELATIONS BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE EC, BRUNET STRESSED TWO POINTS: (A) BERLIN HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE AREA OF APPLICABILITY OF THE TREATY OF ROME BEFORE THE SIGNING OF THE QA; THUS THE QA HAD NOT MODIFIED  
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THAT EXISTING LEGAL SITUATION. (B) SECONDLY, SPECIAL PROCEDURES HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED CONCERNING BERLIN'S PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT; THE BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE CHOSEN BY THE BERLIN HOUSE, NOT BY THE FRG BUNDESTAG WHICH HAD HERETOFORE DESIGNATED ALL GERMAN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

5. ACCORDING TO ABRASIMOV, THE SOVIET SIDE HAD NO OBJECTION TO DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE EC; HOWEVER, WHAT HE CALLED THE "WESTERN DESIRE AND PARTICULARLY FRG DESIRE" TO HAVE BERLIN PARTICIPATE IN "EUROPEAN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES" WAS IN VIOLATION OF THE QA. ABRASIMOV COMPLAINED THAT THE FRG WAS TRYING TO "LEGISLATE" ON THE QUESTION OF HOW TO DESIGNATE BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. PARTICIPATION OF BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES IN A EUROPEAN ORGANISM COULD MODIFY THE SPECIAL STATUS OF WEST BERLIN. ABRASIMOV ASSERTED "THIS IS NEITHER IN YOUR INTEREST NOR IN OURS."

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6. BRUNET POINTED TO PRECEDENTS OF 1957 AND 1967 FOR THE FORTHCOMING SERVICE OF GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE AS PRESIDENT OF THE BUNDESRAT, NOTING THAT THE QA HAD NOT CHANGED OR DISALLOWED PREVIOUSLY EXISTING JURIDICAL PRECEDENTS. ABRASIMOV REPLIED THAT INASMUCH AS BERLIN WAS NOT A "LAND" OF THE FRG HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE GOVERNING MAYOR COULD PRESIDE OVER THE BUNDESRAT. THE FACT THAT BRANDT IN 1957 AND SCHUETZ IN 1967 HAD ASSUMED THIS FUNCTION DID NOT CONSTITUTE VALID PRECEDENTS SINCE BOTH OF THESE PRECEDED CONCLUSION OF THE QA. ABRASIMOV NOTED THAT SCHUETZ HAD BEEN "FORCED" NOT TO USE THE TRANSIT ROUTES FROM BERLIN TO THE FRG FOR A YEAR WHILE SERVING AS PRESIDENT OF THE BUNDESRAT AND HAD THEN HAD TO TRAVEL IN AND OUT OF BERLIN IN A US AIRCRAFT. (LITERAL TRANSLATION OF NEXT SENTENCE IN FRENCH REPORT READS: "AT THAT TIME THE SOVIETS COULD HAVE PREVENTED

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SUCH A PLANE FROM FLYING.") IF STOBBE ASSUMED THE BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE WESTERN

ALLIES, THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR WOULD "REFLECT" ON WHAT MEASURES MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR THEM TO TAKE IN DEFENSE OF THEIR INTERESTS.

7. ON QUESTIONS OF ACCESS, BRUNET NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT LARGE NUMBER OF TRAVELERS HAD BEEN ABLE TO USE THE TRANSIT ROUTES WITHOUT DIFFICULTY BUT DEPLORED THE GDR TURNBACK OF THREE BUSES ON JUNE 16. ABRASIMOV FEIGNED SURPRISE AT THE ALLIED DEMARCHE ON THIS POINT; HE NOTED THAT GDR AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN AWARE THAT 25 BUSES WERE CARRYING CDU MEMBERS TO WEST BERLIN TO PARTICIPATE IN "PROVOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIONS" COMMEMORATING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVENTS OF 1953. THREE BUSES ONLY HAD BEEN TURNED BACK BECAUSE THE OCCUPANTS CARRIED PLACARDS WHICH WERE ANTI-SOCIALIST, ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-GDR. NOTHING IN THE QA OBLIGED THE GDR TO ACCEPT SUCH PROVOCATION. ABRASIMOV EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT THE WESTERN POWERS DID NOTHING TO BLOCK SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS IN WEST BERLIN.

8. BRUNET REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY HEARD ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-GDR PLACARDS IN THE THREE BUSES AND ADDED THAT IN ANY EVENT THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR DID NOT GIVE THE GDR ANY RIGHT TO PASS ON THE MOTIVES WHICH LED TRAVELERS TO USE THE TRANSIT ROUTES.

9. WITH REGARD TO RECENT JOINT PUBLICATION ISSUED BY SOVIET AND GDR AUTHORITIES ON APPLICATION OF THE QA, BRUNET CRITICIZED THE PUBLICATION, NOTING THAT THE TITLE "FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN" WAS INCORRECT AND THAT THE BOOK TENDED TO PRESENT THE GDR AS A FIFTH

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SIGNATORY OF THE AGREEMENT. BRUNET ALSO COMPLAINED THAT THE BOOK MADE KNOWN BOTH THE EXISTENCE AND THE CONTENTS OF CONFIDENTIAL DIPLOMATIC NOTES BETWEEN THE THREE WESTERN POWERS AND THE SOVIETS. ABRASIMOV REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS NATURALLY HAD THE RIGHT TO MAKE THEIR POINT OF VIEW KNOWN; THAT SOVIET SIDE HAD NEVER BEEN BEHIND PUBLICATION OR LEAKS REVEALING THE NATURE OF CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ALLIED AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS. THIS POINT WAS APPARENTLY DESIGNED THE REBUT BRUNET'S REFERENCE TO LEAKS FOLLOWING HIS PREVIOUS MEETING WITH ABRASIMOV.

10. BOTH AMBASSADORS SPOKE OF THE POSITIVE RESULTS STEMMING FROM THE QA. ABRASIMOV COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIETS DESIRED NO REVISION OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH HAD PLAYED, WAS PLAYING, AND WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE OF MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY IN BERLIN AND IN CENTRAL EUROPE. ABRASIMOV ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH THE LETTER AND THE

SPIRIT OF THE QA MUST BE RESPECTED; IF THE THREE WESTERN POWERS PREVENTED "POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH WERE NEGATIVE FACTORS," THEN THERE NEED BE NO CONCERN ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BERLIN.

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11. BRUNET NOTED WITH PLEASURE RESUMPTION OF INNER-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS ON VARIOUS SPECIFIC PROJECTS WHICH, IF CONCLUDED, WOULD BRING ABOUT NOTABLE PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SITUATION OF THE CITY. BRUNET SUBSEQUENTLY NOTED WITH REGRET THE "DAMAGE" DONE TO THE DEMILITARIZED STATUS OF THE CITY BY THE GDR IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST SEVERAL DECADES. ABRASIMOV PREDICTABLY REPLIED THAT "GROSS BERLIN" HAD CEASED TO EXIST IN 1949 WHEN THE EASTERN SECTOR "BECAME THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR." IN ABRASIMOV'S VIEW IT WAS HARDLY SURPRISING THAT THE EAST GERMANS ORGANIZED A MILITARY PARADE ONCE A YEAR IN THEIR OWN CAPITAL.

12. ABRASIMOV BROUGHT UP NEITHER THE FLAG PATROL ISSUE NOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG. FYI. FOREGING IS ABSTRACT OF FRENCH WRITTEN ACCOUNT OF MEETING. END FYI.  
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13. FRENCH POLAD PERRIN TOLD US PERSONALLY THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT SOVIET COMMENTS WERE ON BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN THE EEC PARLIAMENT, AND ON STOBBE'S ASSUMING PRESIDENCY OF THE BUNDESRAT. ON BERLIN'S ROLE IN THE PARLIAMENT, HOWEVER, ABRASIMOV'S REMARKS WERE RATHER TAME.

14. THERE SEEMED TO BE A MORE SPECIFIC THREAT IN THE DISCUSSION OF STOBBE'S BECOMING PRESIDENT OF THE BUNDESRAT, ALTHOUGH WHAT ABRASIMOV SAID WAS BLURRED BY "TRANSLATION DIFFICULTIES." BESIDES SAYING THAT STOBBE IN HIS NEW FRG CAPACITY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO USE THE LAND ROUTES, ABRASIMOV ALSO SEEMED TO BE SAYING THAT THE SOVIETS COULD INTERVENE TO PREVENT HIS GOING AND COMING IN AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT. SCHUETZ WAS IN FACT ONCE STOPPED FROM USING THE HIGHWAY.

15. PERRIN THOUGHT THAT ABRASIMOV'S VAGUE THREATS ABOUT STOBBE WERE PRO FORMA. HE WAS ONLY GOING THROUGH THE PREDICTABLE ROUTINE OF "SOUNDING TOUGH." IT WAS QUITE POSSIBLE THE SOVIETS AND GDR WOULD INDEED BE PREPARED DEMONSTRATIVELY TO TURN STOBBE BACK IF HE WERE TO GO OUT BY ROAD, BUT IN FACT HE INVARIABLY FLIES TO WEST GERMANY.

16. THE FRENCH HAVE REEXAMINED SOME OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF EX-MAYOR SCHUETZ' INCUMBENCY AS PRESIDENT OF THE BUNDESRAT AND CONCLUDED THAT HIS ACTIVITIES DID NOT SERIOUSLY PERTURB THE SOVIET UNION. FOR INSTANCE, PERRIN SAID, IN JANUARY 1968 THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BONN HAD CALLED ON THEN FONMIN BRANDT AND RECITED A LITANY OF SOVIET GRIPEs, WHICH INCLUDED SCHUETZ' SERVING AS BUNDESRAT PRESIDENT. LESS THAN A MONTH LATER, ABRASIMOV

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INVITED SCHUETZ TO DINNER AND REPEATED THE SAME LIST OF SOVIET COMPLAINTS, MINUS, HOWEVER, ANY CENSURE OF SCHUETZ' TROUBLESOME JOB.

17. WE TOLD PERRIN THAT WE AGREED THAT THE ABRASIMOV COMMENTS WERE MAINLY FOR THE RECORD AND DID NOT NECESSARILY FORESHADOW EXTRAVAGANT ACTIONS. WE MENTIONED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AN ANCIENT HISTORICAL OBJECTION TO THE USG FLYING FRG DIGNITARIES TO BERLIN WHICH THEY USED TO VOICE IN THE 1950S AND 1960S (E.G., AGAINST VISITS BY ADENAUER

AND CERTAIN MINISTERS). THEY HAVE NOT ADVANCED THIS VIEW  
IN RECENT YEARS. ANYHOW, WE THOUGH STOBBE WOULD  
CONTINUE TO FLY COMMERCIALY, WITHOUT REQUESTING SPECIAL  
USG PURVEYANCE OF AIR SERVICES.DAVIS

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